Communists on Appeal—*Editorial*

THE *Nation*

WITHDRAWN

July 1, 1950

The Vatican and Israel

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

*

Point Four—and Politics

A REVIEW BY CHARLES E. NOYES

JUN 30 1950

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

KOREA WAS MADE TO ORDER AS THE FUSE with which to touch off a showdown in the Far East. Divided by a line originally drawn to facilitate the Japanese surrender, the country had become a focal point in the cold war. Economically neither the South Korean regime of President Syngman Rhee, organized with the aid of the United Nations, nor the Communist regime in the north could exist without the respective aid of the United States and the Soviet Union. Political extremes obtained on both sides of the line, the Rhee regime having been one of the most repressive police states ever to enjoy our favor. Both the Russian and our own military government left trained and equipped native armies in the field when they pulled out their occupation troops last year, and skirmishing along the border has grown increasingly lively in recent months. It must be said on behalf of the South Koreans that when Rhee reluctantly permitted elections a few weeks ago, the moderates scored a notable victory, indicating both the fairness of the election and at least the hope of political improvement. It is true, furthermore that three weeks ago the U. N. Commission, still in Korea, offered to discuss with envoys from the north a plan put forward by the Communists for a "general election" embracing the entire country. The Communist regime bluntly turned down the offer, calling the commission a tool of Syngman Rhee, and last week-end, in the fashion made memorable by Adolf Hitler, troops and tanks rolled over the border to put the matter to the test of force.

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AS THE RESULT OF THIS RECKLESS MOVE, still in its earliest stages at this writing, the United Nations faces one of the gravest crises of its existence. The reaction of the Security Council was quick, efficient, and unequivocal, but in the nature of things it can amount to no more than moral aid to the Korean Republic. The immediate task of supplying military aid falls on us, and there is no question that it will be discharged. At the same time, the hope of preventing Korea from being turned into another Spain lies in the unity of all the powers outside the Russian sphere, acting through the U. N. and with its blessing. The complexities of the situation are too great to be dealt with summarily, but it must be plain to all that unless this aggression is stopped, neither the United States nor the U. N. will any longer be a barrier to the Communist conquest of Asia. As long as neither Russia nor the United States is officially involved, this need not, and probably will not, mean war. But if the test is dodged, there can be little likelihood of averting the ultimate disaster.

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WHILE THE FRENCH CABINET CRISIS HAS been overshadowed by events in Korea, its importance should not be minimized. Behind it are the opposing views of the principal political parties on colonial policy as well as on electoral reform—Tunisia played its role in the break between Bidault and the Socialists. But the main difficulty, and this gives the crisis significance beyond French frontiers, is the practical impossibility of reconciling the rearmament imposed by the Atlantic Pact and, in the case of France, the Indo-China war, with a policy of decent wages and social progress. The Socialists are blamed for the crisis, and *Le Monde* calls them *"les tombeurs de ministères,"* but how could they have ignored the demands of the civil service when their party today consists more of civil servants than of workers? It is true that Europe has "recovered," but it is not less true that wages and salaries continue to be low enough to make life miserable for every Cabinet. Bidault's private hope of getting a majority if he threatened the dissolution of Parliament and new elections failed this time. Elections at the end of the year are now probable. As we went to press President Auriol was trying to bring together parties of the old majority in a kind of national government, excluding the Communists because of events in Korea. As for Korea itself, we hear from Paris that France does not fear any broadening of the conflict. It hopes that Washington will remain calm. The French recall the advice of one of their greatest diplomats in a serious crisis: "The most urgent thing to do is to wait."

*

GLANCING BACK AT CERTAIN REMARKS appearing in these columns two years ago, we realize with a jolt how remarkably far and fast the armed services have traveled toward racial democracy, against all expectation. In the early summer of 1948, when Senators Russell of Georgia and Maybank of South

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin
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Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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Carolina tried to tack onto the draft bill an amendment allowing any service man to request assignment to a unit wholly of his own race, we surprised many of our readers by suggesting that their proposal, no matter how vicious in intent, might have proved, in practice, to be the undoing of military racism. In the still segregated armed forces it would have placed upon the individual soldier, sailor, or air man the burden of opting for prejudice. The amendment failed, only to be revived last week by the same Senator Russell as the draft act came up for renewal. This time, however, it could have served no good purpose, planned or unplanned, and the difference in circumstances is the measure of the progress that has been made in eliminating segregation. Mr. Truman's anti-segregation directives have at last been put into effect, and the armed services have initiated a sociological revolution that may well have healthy civilian repercussions. Senator Russell's plea for "freedom of choice" had by now become an attempt to set the clock back—or as Senator Maybank put it, more succinctly, to prevent "our white boys" from serving in "mongrelized units." In refusing to sanction this sort of regression, the Senate majority—which represented, as Arthur Krock made clear in an analysis, the wishes of over 80,000,000 Americans—has served the nation well.

*

NO ONE—LEAST OF ALL MR. DEWEY—SEEMS to think that the New York governor's decision not to run for another term means his permanent retirement from politics. Considerations of health, wealth, and tactics simply combined to dictate the temporary withdrawal that a man of forty-eight could still afford. For all our numerous disagreements with Dewey and our strong opposition to him as a presidential candidate, we freely concede that he has been an efficient and honest governor, though not a socially imaginative one. His departure leaves the Republicans with no alternative to the nomination of Joe R. Hanley, the seventy-four-year-old Lieutenant Governor, a genial, minor politician with no qualifications other than a desire to crown a long life of office-holding with a term in the Governor's mansion. He would find it hard to fit into the shoes of Al Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Herbert Lehman, or Dewey himself for that matter, and the Democrats are gleefully aware that this fact will be apparent to the voters.

*

WHAT WORRIES THE LIBERAL AND LABOR elements of the party, however, is that some Democratic leaders may be too conscious of Hanley's weakness to wage the necessary kind of campaign. The feeling in some quarters is that with Dewey's elimination there will be no need to pick a man with obvious vote-pulling power who may prove too independent or too liberal

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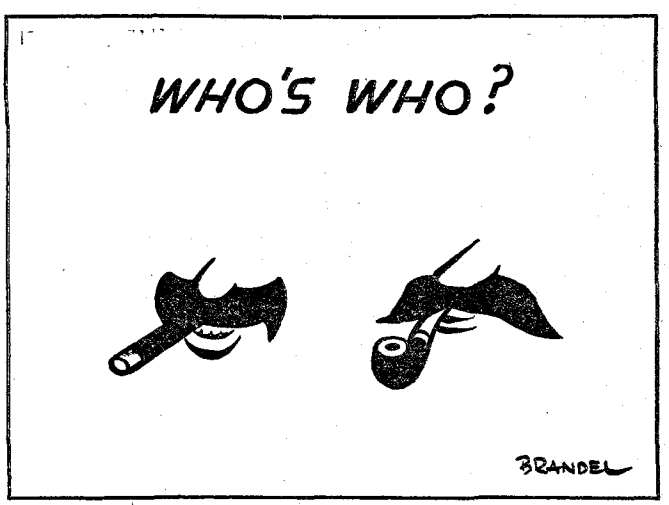
for their taste. The quick decision of the Affiliated Young Democrats to support James A. Farley, a move made with his prior knowledge, is certainly to be interpreted as an effort to block the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. Sensing this trend among right-wing Democrats, both the Liberal Party and the state C. I. O. have been prompt to serve notice that active labor and liberal support are not to be expected for any political hack. Fortunately Bosses Fitzpatrick and Flynn, who will probably have the September convention well in hand, understand that without the enthusiastic support of the party's progressive sector there will be no chance of carrying New York City with the large plurality necessary to overcome the upstate Republican vote.

*

THE LOYALTY-OATH HYSTERIA IS NOW spreading to private enterprise. On June 9 Earle C. Anthony, owner of Radio Station KFI and KFI-TV, Los Angeles, announced that his 200 employees would have to sign a loyalty oath disclaiming any sympathy with the Communist Party. All signed with the exception of Mrs. Charlene Aumack, who is not a Communist but a registered Republican. In a statement to Mr. Anthony, Mrs. Aumack said she was "not convinced that the use of dictatorial methods is a sane way to combat undesirable ideologies. Dictation is an admission that our democratic system cannot survive by democratic methods." She objected, she continued, to "the infiltration of an insidious totalitarian tactic into democratic life—especially because the order is, in itself, a little thing. . . . Lack of protest by the majority of your employees indicates that many people already choose to see no further than today's loaf of bread. It took but a matter of minutes for some of those who disagreed with the order to weigh salary against principle and decide in favor of salary." Although Mrs. Aumack is probably at the moment in greater need of a job than of a prize or medal, such rare political courage should not go unrecognized.



[*Answer on next page*]

Banned Again

THE New York *Times* in its editorial of May 3 called upon the Board of Education to end the ban against *The Nation*. "In the interests of free speech and fair play," it said, "we urge—as we did last May—that *The Nation* be restored to its former place on the school lists." These words echo an opinion already expressed by many civic organizations and most of the press, as well as by an imposing list of educators, librarians, publishers, union leaders, and public-spirited citizens of all sorts. But at its regular open meeting on June 22 the Board of Education approved the Board of Superintendents' list of publications for the school libraries—a list from which *The Nation* for the third successive year, was excluded. Only one voice on the board was raised against this action—that of James Marshall, who abstained from voting on the list, saying that he could not understand how the Board of Superintendents could reconcile the banning of *The Nation* with its opposition to the proposed ban on "Oliver Twist" and "The Merchant of Venice." After this single objection, the list was approved by the vote of everyone else present.

The whole thing was of course cut and dried. This was admitted in effect by the Superintendent of Schools himself, who said in answer to a query from R. Lawrence Siegel, *The Nation's* attorney, that he would be glad to examine new material but did not want to hold out any hope that the decision would be reversed. Several witnesses for *The Nation* protested against this statement, insisting that they had not understood the matter was closed when they were told they might appear. The session was in fact a hearing in form only, a purely mechanical device used to forestall any claim that *The Nation* had been denied an opportunity to state its case.

None the less, *The Nation's* case was stated. Mr. Siegel pointed out that the Board of Superintendents, to justify the continuation of the ban, had brought forward new charges, based on excerpts from *The Nation* taken out of context which misrepresented the purport of the material from which they came and constituted a flimsy and unconvincing bill of complaint. He read into the record the context from which the quotations had been lifted to show the effect of the board's deletions. He stressed particularly the danger implicit in the board's objection to certain advertisements appearing in *The Nation,* arguing that if the same criteria were applied to other publications, very few magazines or newspapers would appear on the approved list. *The Nation's* counsel also brought up the case of "Oliver Twist" and "The Merchant of Venice," pointing out that the dangerous precedent created in banning *The Nation* had been the entire legal basis of the suit to prohibit these two books. Nevertheless, he continued,

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while correctly opposing the exclusion of the books, the board has reaffirmed, for the third time, its totally inconsistent ban on *The Nation.*

A number of organizations supported *The Nation* at the hearing. Their testimony was not wasted. It becomes part of the ammunition for our continued fight against the ban until we receive a final verdict, if necessary in the Supreme Court. The issue is not one of pride or expedience but of principle, and it is on that basis that we shall fight.

Communists on Appeal

WE CAN be grateful that the thorny question of the Communists has come before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, among legal experts probably the most highly regarded tribunal in the country. The case of the eleven Communist leaders, who were convicted in the famous marathon trial before Judge Medina, presents issues which call for great decisions. The court will rule on the constitutionality of the Smith act, on the validity of the method by which federal juries are chosen in the New York district, and on defense allegations that the trial judge was prejudiced to the point of denying a fair trial. In a broader sense it will presumably redefine "clear and present danger," perhaps fix the scope and limitations of the First Amendment for this era of cold war, and in effect determine the fate of the Communist Party in this country. Whether or not the case is eventually reviewed by the Supreme Court, the opinions of the Circuit Court judges are bound to be momentous.

In essence the government's case boils down to these propositions: The so-called Smith act specifically forbids anyone "to knowingly or wilfully advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence." The defendants violated this prohibition by the very fact of having reestablished the Communist Party in 1945. The evidence adduced in court showed that the purpose of the party was to carry on just such prohibited activity in accordance with the teachings of Marx and Lenin. Neither judge nor jury was required to determine whether this activity, if proved, threatened a substantial injury to the country, since that matter had already been decided by Congress in the statute. Judge Medina therefore logically ruled that this was a matter of law, not fact, and that it was for the jury only to determine whether or not such activities were carried on. And for good measure the government brief added the argument that the "clear and present danger" doctrine does not apply to "professional revolutionaries" but was meant only to protect "naive, impulsive, and hot-headed" agitators for reform. The threat of totalitarian groups, it contended, could not be gauged by the damage they might do through their own efforts but rather by their possible role in case of military attack by a foreign power to which they paid allegiance. "It is interesting to consider at what point of time the 'test' urged by appellants could have been applied in Czechoslovakia."

Against these contentions the defense argues roughly as follows: The Smith act, with its sweeping prohibition on mere teaching and advocacy, as distinct from action, is the grossest possible violation of the First Amendment and one that might readily be used to choke off the free dissemination of unpopular thought. It is, in any event, unconstitutional in the way it has been applied, since there is "lacking in this case any agreement to commit the substantive crime [violent overthrow] at all." There is no direct evidence of either criminal conspiracy or illegal intent. Moreover, if the convictions are upheld and the Communist Party branded a conspiracy, then thousands of individuals will have to be tried merely for membership, with a precedent thereby established for similar prosecution of all dissenters. In addition, the defense pressed its allegations that the jury had been chosen on a discriminatory basis and that the behavior of the judge was hostile and injurious to the defendants.

Feeling strongly as we do that the Smith act is unconstitutional in that it breaches the ancient wall between words and thoughts on the one side and deeds and acts on the other, we hope to see the case dismissed on this ground. Judge Medina told the jurors "as a matter of law" that if the defendants committed the acts complained of, "there is sufficient danger of a substantive evil . . . to justify the application of the statute." That was to say that he accepted the constitutionality of the statute. And yet his charge seemed to indicate doubts, to seek almost to cloak the law with a validity that its bare language denied. The jurors were to acquit, he said, unless they were satisfied that the defendants not only conspired to teach and advocate violent overthrow but "had an intent to cause" such overthrow; and that beyond having this motive they intended "to achieve this goal . . . as speedily as circumstances would permit." That is a far cry from the wording of a statute which would make it unlawful merely to teach, among other things, even "the desirability, or propriety" of overthrowing the government by force.

Apart from ridding us of a bad law, a reversal by the Circuit Court would have at least two other salutary effects. First, it would save the government from a painful dilemma. If the verdict of the lower court is set aside for any reason other than that of constitutionality, the Communists will enjoy a great triumph; and if the verdict is upheld, the government will be faced with the ugly prospect of having to prosecute literally thousands of persons on the ground of membership in an organiza-

Answer to Who's Who?: Groucho Marx, Stalin

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tion condemned under the Smith act. Three months ago Raymond P. Whearty, then acting Attorney General, told an appropriations subcommittee of the House that if the convictions were sustained, the Justice Department planned to go ahead with "roughly 12,000" such prosecutions. If the law is ruled out, not only shall we be spared this judicial shambles, but there is bound to be a general lifting of the murky fog that has been closing in on our traditional freedoms.

"Peace Through Peace"

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, June 22

IN THE historic Salon d'Horloge the members of the six-nation assembly discussing the Schuman Plan look nostalgically toward the empty seventh seat reserved for Great Britain. For a moment Churchill's classic maneuver of using a foreign issue for a domestic political purpose lifted the hearts of the delegates at the Quai d'Orsay with the prospect that Prime Minister Attlee would be forced to yield in order to avoid a parliamentary crisis next Monday. But sober reconsideration of the state of things in London has deflated this momentary optimism. Not only does Attlee have the Labor members solidly behind him, but there is an influential group among the Conservatives themselves, headed by Lord Beaverbrook, which remains unconvinced by the explanations and assurances of French diplomacy and its American backers. When the Schuman proposal was first made public, I cabled from London that the British would never be reconciled to giving up their hard-earned recovery in order to make the Germans the chief beneficiary of the mess Europe is in—and that at the expense of Great Britain.

Therefore it is useless to talk about the Schuman plan as something detached from the political problem of Europe and of the world, which, reduced to fundamentals, is the problem of choosing between war and peace, and nothing else. The Schuman Plan in itself may be wonderful; pages and pages could be written in its support if one separated it artificially from politics. But the whole issue is political, and that is why the able two-hour speech in yesterday's session by Jean Monnet, chief French delegate and real architect of the plan, sounded like a lecture on economics and made no impression. Even the problem of an international coal-steel authority, which Monnet is trying to solve in a way agreeable to the British, is a political problem much more than a technical one. The paramount questions are: to whom will the *autorité supranationale* be responsible, and how are the industrialists and the cartels to be prevented from repeating their victory of 1926, which marked the beginning of the rearmament of Europe in exactly the same manner—that is, by opening the door for the rearmament of Germany.

It is the issue of Germany which divides people into two groups in their approach to the Schuman Plan: those who accept the American conception that in order to stop Russia any ally is to be welcomed—Hitler himself if he were alive—and those who oppose the unification of Europe with Germany as the consolidating factor and the other countries dancing to its tune.

Already, mainly because of the absence of Great Britain, the German delegation carries the most weight in this six-nation conference, even if so far it has not opened its mouth. Where was the Schuman Plan born if not in Bonn in a conversation between Schuman and Adenauer with the explicit or implied blessing of the United States? M. Spaak may sound very amusing when he says privately that work in the Salon d'Horloge will go faster and more smoothly with the British absent. But with the "new united Europe" already deprived of the collaboration of all countries in the Soviet sphere, it is a little far-fetched to find humor in the absence of Great Britain.

The Paris conference may arrive at a formal and clever solution by making the high authority responsible to an assembly or parliament of nations, thereby avoiding the appearance of an undemocratic institution with vast powers and no popular control, but it will not succeed in changing the two big political facts: that the countries of the Atlantic community, instead of joining in a common effort, have alienated Great Britain, and that the Schuman Plan, instead of acting as a force for peace, has widened the gulf between Russia and the Western powers. It is not only the Communists here who consider the Schuman Plan the first practical realization of the idea of "total diplomacy" as proclaimed by Dean Acheson.

A large section of European public opinion, still unconvinced by the theory of "peace through strength," insists that "peace through peace" should be given a chance, in other words, that a new effort be made to reconcile the United States and Russia. I wrote once that the biggest error in the approach of Dean Acheson to the Russian problem is the assumption that Russia is bound to act as the aggressor toward every country not its equal or superior in force. Suppose Russia were not so obliging as to conform to this American theory. What then? This is not a fanciful hypothesis. It is exactly what happened in the recently signed trade treaty with Finland, hailed in Helsinki as highly beneficial to the Finnish people. Should Russia go on *au fond* in this direction, another political headache will be added to those already troubling the delegates in the Salon d'Horloge: the joint statement by the archbishops and bishops of France condemning the atomic bomb; the growing movement of the "partisans of neutrality,"

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which had its origin in several editorials and articles in the moderate paper *Le Monde* (both more difficult to dismiss as Communist-inspired than the Stockholm appeal); Britain's idea, which may have played a part in its absence from the conference, that it may one day act as mediator between the United States and Europe. All these are real political problems which cannot be solved by a few eloquent phrases from Schuman about the new love affair between Germany and France or by a brilliant technical dissertation by Jean Monnet.

Notes from Capitol Hill

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, June 26

WHATEVER may be the outcome of the sudden attack of Russian-backed North Koreans on the South Korean Republic, the grim fact has emerged that the United States and the whole Western world are confronted with a major challenge in policy. The White House reacted at first with relative calm, but the Departments of State and Defense showed no tendency to minimize the seriousness of the challenge. While Communist-led troops have fought major actions in Greece and are now fighting full-scale civil war in Burma and Indo-China, in Korea they are being used for the first time in naked aggression against a country brought into being under the auspices of the United Nations and protected by assurances of American favor.

The assault can be viewed as a reflection of Russian determination to expel American influence from an important advance post on the Asiatic mainland. It is also clearly a move to test both our military power and our strength of purpose in the Far East. If South Korea should fall, and the United States and the West should find themselves checkmated by the *fait accompli,* the pressure on every other country on the periphery of the Soviet empire would grow stronger.

The attitude of official Washington was reminiscent of that on week-ends in the years before World War II, as the Western democracies came slowly to the realization that toleration of step-by-step attacks and aggressions, achieving piecemeal conquests, would force an explosion when the point was reached where acquiescence became surrender. The government of Syngman Rhee has been criticized by Americans as inept and ineffective; there have been Americans who warned that a commitment to support Syngman Rhee placed the United States in an unrealistic position. None of this lessens the sense of shock at the aggression.

The crisis is no less acute for the United Nations than for the United States. The U. N. Security Council, meeting in the face of the Russian boycott, sharply ordered the North Koreans to cease their aggression and withdraw their troops. Secretary General Trygve Lie made it plain that he placed full confidence in the report of the official U. N. Commission, from Korea itself, that the North Korean aggression was a violation of the U. N. Charter and a "threat to international peace." The fall of South Korea, with the Russians and their puppets defying the U. N., would deal the international organization a blow from which it might not recover. A protracted resistance would inevitably involve Russia and the United States—for all practical purposes, though on a limited front—in Asiatic warfare.

Both alternatives are repugnant and infinitely dangerous. Mr. Truman's restrained language as he explained the position we have taken in our appeal to the United Nations did not hide the seriousness with which the act of aggression must be viewed.

A PROPOSAL regarding American foreign policy which deserves friendlier consideration than it has yet received from President Truman or Secretary of State Acheson is pigeonholed in the Foreign Relations committees of House and Senate. It was offered on June 6 in a bipartisan resolution which if adopted might electrify world public opinion and enormously strengthen our influence with the smaller neutral nations which now see little in our policy beyond a grim determination to build armaments and alliances faster than the Russians. It might even lessen the intoxication of the Russians with their own slogans about Wall Street warmongers.

The chief spokesman for the bipartisan group behind the resolution is Senator Brien McMahon of Connecticut. After a reference to the historical fact that the only possible result of an all-out armaments race is war, the resolution proposes (1) that Congress ask all peoples to join in a serious effort to achieve peace and freedom; (2) that it call for an immediate special session of the U. N. General Assembly for the single purpose of seeking again an agreement on disarmament and control of weapons; (3) that Congress pledge itself—if and when an "effective and enforceable system of world-wide disarmament and control takes effect"—to make available to the U. N., for the peaceful development of atomic power and for world reconstruction, all sums which in the next five years would otherwise be spent upon weapons; and (4) that

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ɔngress ask all other governments to make a similar edge.

There is not a line in this resolution which the most spicious cliché addict could label appeasement. Its loption would not interfere with development of the tlantic alliance while actual U. N. agreement on "ef-ctive and enforceable" control of new and traditional eapons was pending. It would not check our own armament until Congress was satisfied that enforce-ble control was "in effect," through a plan accepted y our own spokesmen. It would be a gesture which ıight have a profound effect.

The missing "component" in the Truman-Acheson rogram—to borrow Mr. Acheson's word—is a posi-ve alternative to amassing stockpiles of weapons. he peoples and diplomats of the smaller countries and he anxious neutrals know that great powers have never voided war by pointing loaded cannon and shout-ng insults at each other. There is reason to believe that even if the Russians turned down our proposal at present, the moral effect of the move would be substantial, for Russia could not ignore the slow crystallization of public opinion among peoples still uncommitted in the East-West conflict. We have nothing to lose and much to gain from the honorable assertion of an affirmative policy for ending the arms race.

When Senators Ball, Burton, Hatch, and Hill in 1943 roused American public opinion in favor of our participation in a post-war United Nations, they had the active assistance of the White House and the State Department. Senator McMahon and his colleagues, among whom are liberals and conservatives from both parties, have got no help from the Administration. But their mail shows that popular support for their proposal is gradually building up, and the group of Congressmen in favor of it is steadily growing larger. The Congressmen, and the people, should not have to do the whole job themselves.

Austria: Help Wanted

BY ALEXANDER KENDRICK

THIS year's Fourth of July reception at the big house on the hill in the American sector of Vienna will probably be the last official appearance of Lieutenant General Geoffrey Keyes as United States Military High Commissioner for Austria. Soon afterward General Keyes will be replaced by a civilian high commissioner, the State Department will take over the functions of civil administration, and the 10,000-man army of occupation will become an American "defense force." Although the change was announced only after last month's meeting of the three Western Foreign Ministers, it has been in the works for nearly a year, or since John J. McCloy took over in Germany.

A major political and economic crisis is overdue in Austria; it has been held off mainly by the belief that the four-power occupation would soon end. The latest Soviet maneuvers against a state treaty have now delayed the end indefinitely, and trouble lies ahead. It is compounded of such elements as rising prices and frozen wages, increasing unemployment, Communist-led strikes, differences within the governing Catholic-Socialist coalition, and the rapid growth of new ultra-nationalistic but pro-Soviet political groups.

The British insist that the joint Western change-over from military to civilian administration be effected by August 1 and long ago designed their minister to Austria as their new commissioner. The Americans also intend to combine the two jobs and later to add the third highest American post in Austria, that of E. C. A. administrator. With the cold war going on this will be an extremely important assignment, but a few days ago I was told at the State Department that nobody, not even Secretary Acheson, knows who the man will be, and that the choice is to be the President's alone. In view of some other Truman appointments understandable apprehension exists, and although the names of former Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, Deputy E. C. A. Administrator William C. Foster, and David E. Lilienthal have been mentioned, one official suggested that a Help Wanted advertisement might produce better results than leaving it to the White House. I have heard that a candidate's only necessary qualification is that he be "acceptable" to the army; the army has also stipulated that his deputy and executive officer be a military man.

Several State Department officials have made trips to Vienna to plan for administrative changes and the assumption of such army functions as intelligence and propaganda, as well as for the supervision of denazification, "democratization," displaced persons, and restitution. These men have found that the old army game has got rid of the best people in the Commissioner's office. Under General Keyes, as under Mark Clark, his predecessor, the Austrian command has worn the label of a "Catholic command," and it was differences with

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ALEXANDER KENDRICK has recently returned from a trip through the Middle East and Central Europe as representative of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

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Keyes over his predilection for the Catholic Volkspartei that led recently to the transfer of his deputy commissioner, Brigadier General Jesmond C. Balmer, and other key personnel. General Balmer, one of the few army officers who could also be called a diplomat, is applying his five years' experience of negotiations with the Russians in a guided-missile school in Texas.

WHEN the new team takes over in Vienna, it will probably find that the long occupation deadlock is being broken, not by agreement with the Russians, but by internal developments. The most important of these, in the political field, is the emergence of an organization calling itself the National League. I was present at its birth, in a Vienna beer hall named The Führer, on January 30, the anniversary of Adolf Hitler's accession to power in Germany. Its organizer was a former Soviet war prisoner named Joseph Hager. A few months earlier Hager had helped organize the frankly neo-Nazi League of Independents (V. d. U.), and after the V. d. U. won sixteen parliamentary seats and 12 per cent of the vote in the October election, he had been named a provincial chairman.

Hager's task was apparently to provide a transmission belt from the V. d. U. to the National League. He brought with him hundreds of persons who had joined the V. d. U. because it was then the main political group outside the three post-war parties. Since then the V. d. U. has all but fallen apart, and a large part of its Nazi-inclined membership has gone over to the National League, leaving the non-Nazi Herbert Krause a leader without a party. Since then, too, Hager has given way to Dr. Adolf Slavik, a former S. S. officer, as head of the National League. Slavik urges understanding with the East, Austrian neutrality, a "United States of Eurasia," and Austria for the Austrians, and is apparently well supplied with funds from Soviet sources.

Another growing new party is the Democratic Union, with headquarters in Graz. This was founded by a university professor named Dobretsberger as a pro-Soviet organization aspiring to the left-of-center vote and is connected with a similarly named party in the Soviet zone of Germany.

Until now the Soviet occupation authorities, on the surface at least, have supported the Austrian Communist Party as their best hope for the future. But its failure to gain votes at the last general election despite a joint slate with a left-wing Socialist splinter group, added to the evidences of Titoism, the general ineffectiveness of party leaders, and the resounding defeat of Communist candidates in the municipal-council elections in the Soviet-occupied province of Lower Austria, have led the Russians to reconsider the party's usefulness.

It is against this background that the National League's activities appear significant. It would be logical now for the Russians to combine the Communists, th National League, the Democratic Union, the dissider Socialists, and a few other splinter factions into an *Ein heitspartei* as in eastern Germany. With the Soviet occu pation force settling down to an indefinite stay, such move could be undertaken easily. A pro-Soviet unite front of this kind might represent 20 per cent of th electorate, and would immediately be a political grou of considerable strength.

These developments have been paralleled by dissen sion in the parties making up the government coalition. The Volkspartei reflects the differences between Cardinal Innitzer and his Vatican-favored subordinate, Archbishop Rohrbacher of Salzburg, and is feeling increasing pressure from its Catholic Action wing, which wants an outright clerical party. The Socialists have been unhappy since the October election, when far from winning enough votes to form a one-party government as they had hoped, they found themselves political prisoners of the Volkspartei and unable to advocate their Socialist tenets. They promised to remain in the coalition as long as the occupation lasted, but when the promise was made it seemed as if a treaty were just around the corner. Now that the occupation has no terminal date, there is talk for the first time of the Socialists going into the opposition.

Such action would not be entirely spontaneous. During the past six months a wave of strikes for higher wages has spread over Austria, led by the Communists. To avert inflation, the Socialist unions have agreed to a wage freeze, with the blessing if not at the insistence of the American authorities, but prices continue to rise. The Communist-inspired strikes have a good deal of popular support, and it is a question how long the Socialists can stick to their present line without losing many of their trade-union members. The obvious solution of rolling back and controlling prices is unacceptable to the free-enterprise Volkspartei.

Moreover, the consequences of devaluing the schilling last fall have finally caught up with the government. The shock of adjustment to devaluation was cushioned at first by the E. C. A.'s agreement to continue selling foodstuffs and other prime materials supplied under the Marshall Plan at the old and unrealistic rate of ten schillings to the dollar. This was a temporary device, and the E. C. A. rate has since been raised to fourteen and now to twenty-one schillings to the dollar. In a few months it will be twenty-six, which is the top or premium exchange rate, and higher than the rate used in ordinary export-import transactions with European countries; American goods will therefore cost more than the same kind of goods made in Europe. The Communists are naturally blaming the E. C. A. and the Americans for the latest increases in the cost of living, and people are more receptive to their propaganda than they were a few months ago. There has been some suggestion of sub-

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sidies, but realists in Vienna know that the government cannot pay them, and that any help Austria gets will have to come from the United States.

Here is where the Russians have us in a difficult position. The United States long ago gave up asking Austria to pay its occupation costs, and Britain and France have reduced their charges. But the Russians still insist on the full amount, and their bill to the Austrian government is more than $21,000,000 a year. The Russians also continue to exploit the resources of the Austrian oil fields and the more than three hundred industrial plants which are classified as former German assets. If the United States, through the E. C. A. or in some other way, increased its aid to Austria, we should in effect be financing the Soviet occupation and exploitation, a pill which quite a few Congressmen would find difficult to swallow. A few months ago we were prepared to pay any price to get the Russians out of Austria, but there cannot be much sentiment on Capitol Hill for paying any price to keep them there. Yet the sums involved are trifling compared with the estimates of the Military Defense Assistance Program which Mr. Truman sent to Congress recently, and which Mr. Acheson promptly topped in his testimony before a Senate committee.

How American money can be spent more usefully in Austria than in making possible the seventy or eighty different kinds of *Torten* and *Schnitten* found in Vienna's pastry shops; what balanced tax program can be worked out which will not hit the retail consumers too hard; what should be the new wage-price policy; how Austrian trade with Eastern Europe can be increased despite official American restrictions—these are some of the problems to which the new American civilian high commissioner will have to face up.

All this, and dealing with the Russians too, is a considerable assignment, especially since the three Western civilian commissioners will be talking to a Soviet military commissioner of lieutenant general's rank, with 46,000 troops behind him and increasing political influence in the country. It would be encouraging if the White House seemed to recognize this; the first clue to its attitude will be the new American administrator it selects.

The Vatican and Israel

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

Rome, June

IS THE Vatican moving toward an alliance with Islam in the Middle East in order to oppose more effectively the hostile power of the Soviet Union and the annoying independence of Israel? There is not enough evidence for a final answer to this question, but there is no doubt that a pattern of power is developing in which the Vatican and the Arab League nations are on one side and Israel is on the other.

The Vatican's role in the Middle East attracted very little attention in the United States until last December at the United Nations Assembly at Flushing Meadow, when Vatican and Kremlin diplomacy swung the vote against Israel and for the internationalization of the Jerusalem area. Then the Israeli spokesmen, like the other delegations, were forced to recognize that the Vatican, although it has no army or navy, is still one of the major powers. With the Soviet Union's recent reversal of policy on this issue, Rome has become Israel's chief diplomatic opponent.

In discussing the question of the Vatican and Israel it should be remembered that the political strategy of the high command of the Roman Catholic church has very little to do with the attitude of American Catholics toward Jews or toward Zionism. On the whole, American Catholics are not anti-Semitic or anti-Zionist, and probably a great many of them were deeply disturbed when their church acted as a kind of super-lobby in the U. N. last December and defeated both Israel and the United States—as well as the United Nations itself—on the Jerusalem issue. It is even possible that Cardinal Spellman, who played an important part in the victory, acted against his own judgment. A left-wing paper here in Rome has charged that Spellman merely obeyed papal orders, and that the real villain was Monsignor Giovanni Montini of the Vatican Secretariat of State, who persuaded the Pope to organize the drive that led to the resolution of December 9. Whatever may be the truth of that report, it is clear that American Catholics are not responsible for the Vatican's policy concerning Israel. While they pay more than half of the running expenses of the great Vatican diplomatic machine, they have no control over it, they know little about its objectives, and they regard their contributions to its maintenance as gifts without political significance.

As a temporal power the Catholic church has always been hostile to the Jewish state because the Jewish state

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PAUL BLANSHARD, well-known author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," is The Nation's *special representative in Rome. In the next article of several on the political activities of the Vatican he will take up the question of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the United States.*

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is a potential obstacle to some of its ambitions. Part of that hostility has been traditional and religious, "a desire," as Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett of Israel has said, "to seek revenge for an ancient sin and to settle an account of nineteen centuries' standing." Since the days of the Crusades and the Latin kingdom in the Holy Land, the Vatican's claim to territorial rule in this region has been dormant but not forgotten. Two active international organizations sponsored by the Vatican are intrusted with the responsibility of keeping Catholic interest in the Holy Land alive—the Order of the Holy Sepulcher, which has been reorganized and is functioning under the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Association for the Preservation of the Faith in Palestine, which is designed to group the Catholics of the world around His Beatitude the Patriarch of Jerusalem. With these organizations should be mentioned the Custody of Holy Places, which maintains in the Middle East fifty churches and schools for more than 7,000 students. (The whole pattern of Vatican organization in this region was described by Dr. Chaim Wardi in the *Journal of the Middle East Society* in 1947 in an article which has special value because its factual summary was approved by the Vatican's representative in Israel before publication.)

THE Roman Catholic state, the temporal and totalitarian structure composed wholly of priests, follows in the Middle East the familiar pattern of nearly all sovereign states: it asserts as much authority as possible over as large a territory as it can safely absorb, and makes alliances with a view to the maintenance or extension of that authority. Since the days of the Balfour Declaration the official Catholic press of the world, which operates under ecclesiastical controls, has regarded Zionism as a potentially hostile force. Pius XII in his encyclicals on Palestine—"In Multiciplicibus" and "Redemptoris Nostri"—expressed his "stern anxiety" over "the profaning of the Holy Places." Two months ago, here in Rome, the organ of the Jesuits, *La Civilità Cattolica,* in publishing an article on the Middle East, gave the critical section on Israel the subtitle: "The Menace of Zionism."

Last month the Spanish Catholic bishop of Teruel published in *Arriba,* the organ of the Falange Party, a bitter denunciation of Zionism, lumping it with Free Masonry and communism as one of the three forces that "have allied themselves with the meretricious one who is seated on the crimson beast." "Zionist Judaism," said the Spanish bishop, according to the translation in the New York *Times,* "already has its throne in Palestine, though it was raised by a force of gold, blood, and injustice. From there it can inspire and direct world Judaism with a view to establishment of a universal kingdom in which it will be Israel that directs and gives the orders." This important utterance was entirely omitted from the papal and Christian Democratic press of Italy, and the Vatican Secretariat of State refused to reply when I asked for a repudiation or verification.

As recently as 1949 the Vatican's radio station referred to Zionism as "the new Nazism." Archbishop Arthur Hughes, Apostolic Internuncio to Egypt, charged in the fall of 1948 that Israel's policy toward Arab refugees was a "deliberate Jewish effort to decimate the Arabs and destroy Christianity [*sic*] in Palestine," and quoted a Palestine priest to the effect that "Jews are displaying particular hatred against our Catholic institutions," a charge which was later proved unjustified.

"'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem'," declared the Brooklyn *Tablet* during this same period, "is as much a challenge to the multiple millions of Christians throughout the world as it is to Jewry and Islam. We Christians have stood unarmed, bloody martyred guardians at the untenanted tomb of Christ and at the other Holy Shrines of the Old Testament and the New Testament through the centuries. And we Christians do not intend to 'forget Jerusalem' even in this latest hour of struggle between Israel and Ishmael."

This claim that Catholics are "bloody martyred guardians" over the Holy Places has been echoed in milder terms by more responsible Catholic papers. *America* declared last year, in attacking Israel's policy on Jerusalem, that "the modern city, containing dozens of shrines made sacred by Our Lord's life, is to become the capital of the new state in contemptuous contradiction of the judgment of the family of nations expressed in U. N.'s pledged policy of internationalizing the Holy City and the Holy Places." Anyone who has visited Jerusalem can testify that the new city, claimed by Israel and populated by Jews, contains not "dozens" of Christian shrines but exactly two, and that all the other designated Christian shrines around Jerusalem—thirty-four to be exact—are in Arab territory.

The Vatican's religious plant in the Middle East, as distinguished from its church membership, is large. There are 50 buildings—schools, monasteries, missions, and the like—belonging to the Roman Catholic Patriarchate in the Jerusalem diocese alone, and more than 150 houses of world-wide religious orders. (The Patriarchate includes Palestine, Jordan, and Cyprus.) Since Pius IX reestablished the Patriarchate in Jerusalem in 1847, the missionaries of the church have aggressively pushed its program of expansion, but they have failed to win any considerable number of converts. Their chief successes have been scored in elementary education and social work, and their membership is composed almost entirely of Arabs who are hereditary Catholics. Lebanon, with its largely Eastern-rite Catholics, is the only country in the Middle East with a substantial proportion of Roman Catholics, and even the Eastern-rite Catholics in Lebanon do not now constitute a majority. There are perhaps 26,000 Roman Catholics left

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in Israel today; in old Palestine they were not more than 3 per cent of the population. The proportion in Syria is about 4 per cent, in Iraq about 2, in Egypt about 1. Making very few converts, the Vatican is faced with an almost complete religious stalemate in the region.

IT IS apparent, then, that the Vatican's intense interest in the Middle East arises from a combination of anti-communism and clerical imperialism, the latter expressed partly through its determination to dominate and exploit the Holy Places. In a sense, its religious failure has modified its historical hostility to Mohammedanism. Since it can make no headway in winning Islam to Christ, it will concentrate its efforts on converting Moslems to anti-communism. It can no longer regard the Greek Orthodox church as a dependable support in the fight against Communist penetration in the Middle East, for that church, traditionally distrustful of Vatican ambitions, is becoming more friendly to the Soviet Union. The Russian ambassador in Tel Aviv has made some surprisingly affable gestures toward the Orthodox Archimandrites. Communism aside, the Vatican obviously sees in this period of reorganization and conflict an opportunity to intrench itself in Palestine and thus to obtain a position of power that was impossible as long as the area remained under Turkish and British control and would again become impossible if Israel and the Arab states settled their quarrel and fixed their boundaries.

In any case Israel does not fulfil the Vatican's dream of an ally against communism for a number of reasons. Israel is trying desperately to be neutral between East and West; it is too busy with other things to get mixed up in the cold war. Israel is headed by Socialists, and Socialists are traditionally unfriendly to clerical power. Moreover, Israel contains enough sympathizers with Soviet foreign policy to frighten the Vatican. The Vatican does not often express this fear in public, but privately leaders of the church reveal their alarm.

Actually communism in Israel is a very minor force. The Communist Party polled only 3.5 per cent of the vote for the first Knesset. Incidentally, of the three Communist deputies in the Knesset, one is a Christian Arab. The leading Catholic prelate in Galilee, with whom I talked at some length, estimated that not more than 2½ per cent of the people of Israel were Communists. He had not felt compelled to excommunicate anybody for being a Communist. Even if it is conceded that a majority of the Mapam, the left Socialist opposition party, is sympathetic with Russian foreign policy, the aggregate pro-Soviet strength in Israel is not more than 10 or 15 per cent. Russia's anti-Zionism has alienated most Israelis, and so have the endless obstacles raised by Moscow and its satellites over the emigration of Jewish nationals and D. P.'s to Israel.

LOOKING BACKWARD

Twenty-five Years Ago in "The Nation"

ROBERT E. LEE once said to his retreating soldiers: "We cannot win all the time." Fundamentally, *The Nation's* causes can never be beaten, because they are based on doctrines of brotherhood which must triumph in the long run unless the race is to destroy itself. It is this belief which gives *The Nation* such a zest for its causes and keeps its editors optimists. . . . In its beginning *The Nation* was absorbed in purely domestic issues. Now it must interest itself in every country, and from the struggle in every clime it draws good cheer and inspiration. . . . The lid of despotism may be clamped down in Hungary; it is suddenly lifted in China or in India.—*July 1, 1925.*

But in spite of this considerable opposition to Soviet policy, the Vatican obviously regards the new nation with distrust. Israel represents intelligent and modern forces of social change. Israel is an infection point in the Middle East for new ideas. Islam has none of these shortcomings; Islam is traditional and reactionary. In many ways Catholicism and Mohammedanism are brothers under the skin: both have their roots in a feudal structure of power which can survive only so long as social ferment is repressed and existing class relationships maintained and fortified.

It was the recognition of this fundamental kinship which doubtless inspired Egypt, the leader of the Arab states, to initiate diplomatic relations with the Holy See in 1947. Since then the Egyptian minister to the Vatican, Mohammed Daher Al Omari Bey, has been busily building up a Vatican-Islam front. A new, predominantly Moslem nation, Indonesia, has just decided to send a minister to the Vatican to keep company with Mohammed Omari. A possible basis for rapprochement between Islam and Catholicism was discussed by Egypt's diplomatic representatives in Europe and America at a March conference in Cairo, and the press reported a favorable reaction in Arab circles to the idea of closer cooperation with the Vatican. How far the rapprochement will go is anybody's guess; no official announcement on the subject has yet been made. At the Egyptian legation to the Holy See here in Rome I was blandly assured that the prospective cooperation was wholly non-political and would have as its sole object the uniting of forces in opposition to "atheism." If the alliance was also opposed to communism, that was wholly because communism is atheistic. And it is, of course, true that the Moslem states are likely to qualify their relations with Rome sufficiently to retain freedom of maneuver between East and West. The recent threat of the Syrian government "to turn to Moscow" as an answer to West-

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ern, and particularly American, support of Israel is an example of this strategy.

As yet no one is willing to admit that the budding Rome-Islam alliance has any anti-Jewish significance, but it is worth noting that Israel, which is certainly as much opposed to atheism as Italy or Egypt, has not been invited to join the anti-atheist front, and that the Vatican and the Arab League have only two sure points of agreement, opposition to communism and opposition to Israel.

BESIDE THE POINT

[The Nation's *drama critic, Joseph Wood Krutch, has sent us the following report from points west.*—M. M. *and* R. B.]

ABOUT forty miles east of Amarillo, Texas, we blew a tire. As usual, one essential tool was missing, but a rescue party arrived promptly, and in less than an hour we were having a cup of coffee in a roadside cafe attached to one of those we-fix-flats shacks which are a blot on the landscape until needed. As it turned out, the big bosses of the establishment were a Fleming and his wife who had come to the United States two years ago, stopped by on their way to California, and taken over. The young man who did the actual work was a native-born Texan, and probably the situation reveals something about American enterprise.

The story, however, is not about the boss but about the hired man. During his absence the gas pump had been left in charge of a toothless, roly-poly little man of eighty. He promptly gave an account of the only transaction which had taken place during his incumbency, and it was entirely satisfactory. "Well, Pop," said the young fellow, "you're a good man. But the country is full of 'em and there ain't much demand."

Most of the wit and humor of conversation is at tenth hand. Quite possibly this little gem was not original on the lips from which I heard it. But at least it was still fresh. Not so far away and not so long ago it had been struck off to begin its life as a part of the folk-say, and it set me to thinking again about the American wisecrack and the old question whether it has a unique quality, whether its combination of spaciousness with cheerful cynicism is something which only our land, and society, and history could produce. I have thought often of writing a treatise on the subject, and though I am not quite ready for that yet I was reminded of a somehow comparable remark made nearly two thousand miles away in the midst of a culture as different as any still American culture could be.

This time the scene was the subway station at 116th Street in New York. Two young men—obviously not intellectuals from Columbia University—were waiting for a train, and one put a penny in an automatic gum machine. As so frequently happens, the coin was swallowed up irretrievably, but no gum was forthcoming. Too familiar with this phenomenon to be more than dimly aware of it, the young man put in another penny and again nothing happened. Thoroughly aroused by now, he inserted a third coin with an air of determination which seemed to challenge the machine to repeat its outrage. The latter clicked happily as though to say "Let's see which of us will tire of this first."

Now in Fascist Italy where the trains always ran on time vending machines no doubt always worked—even though efficiency is the enemy of wit. In France where machines are very prone not to operate (*L'Omnibus Est Complet, Le Guichet Est Fermé, L'Ascenseur ne Fonctionne pas*) there would have been a little label which informed the careful investor that in case of failure to get the goods he had paid for he should make a complaint at number so-and-so, rue something-or-other, in the twenty-fifth arrondissement. Moreover, the young man, determined not to be cheated, would probably have taken the afternoon off and demanded in no uncertain terms that his money be refunded. In Russia, on the other hand, he would probably have written a letter to *Pravda* demanding the liquidation of the Commissar for Candy Machines—if they have them. But this is America. The machine was not even given the shaking it so richly deserved. Instead, the young man turned to his companion and said: "Say! What is this anyway? A savings bank?"

A philosopher would have noted the contempt with which the institution last mentioned was referred to. Obviously it was something for which the speaker had scant respect—and for exactly the same reason which had led him to accept with no more than mock indignation the loss of his money. There are more pennies where these came from. Perhaps, some will say, this was merely conspicuous expenditure on a modest scale. But it was also something more. Our young man had, as the saying goes, been given the opportunity to put in his three cents' worth of comment. Plainly he thought he had got his money's worth. And to be able to do that is to enjoy something closely related to free speech—namely, wit worth what it costs.

The Texas flat-fixer and the city slicker were brothers under the accent. The one might be working for a foreigner and the other might be undergoing exploitation by a group of capitalists using the machine as an instrument. Physically the airs they were breathing were as different as possible—air of the subway and air of the Texas plains. But the spiritual atmosphere in which they had their respective beings was much the same. Spacious, as I have already remarked, and cheerfully cynical.

J. W. K.

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DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

Ignobel Prize Awards

BY ONE of those rare occurrences that do happen in the journalistic world the Observer has obtained exclusive advance information on a new group of awards. They are to be presented for conspicuous journalistic, literary, and political accomplishments inciting and prolonging public confusion. They will be called the Ignobel Prizes. Each prize-winner will receive a handsome statuette made of genuine iron pyrites, a picture of which appears on this page. The list of awards follows:

Most Craven Editorial of the Year: to the New York *Times* for apologizing, in its editorial columns, for an unfavorable reference to the Catholic church in its book-review section of the same day.

Most Fearless Crusade Against Subversives: to Igor Cassini (Cholly Knickerbocker) for ferreting out left-footed tap dancers on Ed Sullivan's TV show.

Shrewdest Military Analysis of the Year: to the New York *World-Telegram* for blithely ignoring a civil war that killed and wounded millions and crediting State Department policy with "handing 400,000,000 Chinese to Russia on a silver platter."

Best Re-rewrite Job: Also to the *World-Telegram*, for rewriting, for the fifth year in a row, the same facts on the *Amerasia* case, dressing up the job this year by giving it front-page position and a new look supplied by Frederick Woltman.

Most Hopeful Prognostication: to the N. A. M. gentleman who said, "If we go on like this it may mean the end of the American business man as we know him."

Speediest Comprehension of What the Failure of American Intervention Against the Chinese Revolution Meant: to Dean Acheson, for his decision to intervene against the Vietnam revolution.

Best One-sided Objective Reporting (Domestic): To Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky for "Seeds of Treason."

Best One-sided Objective Reporting (Foreign): to Cyrus L. Sulzberger of the New York *Times* for his across-the-world guesswork—notably his "beat" on what Mao said to Stalin and vice versa in the Kremlin, cabled from Paris. Or was it Athens?

Best Scoop on the Lunatic Fringe: to the New England dailies which printed Joe Kamp's Big Lies—about Ambassador Jessup and Owen Lattimore—before Joe McCarthy could get the floor.

Greatest Number of Undaunted Flights in Face of Fact: to Westbrook Pegler and George Sokolsky (tie).

Most Notable Athletic Feat: to the Supreme Court for its record-breaking seventy-five-years dash backward (with blinkers on).

Most Exposed Exposé: to Fulton Lewis, Jr., for presenting the story of that air-force officer who had inside dope, or was one.

Smallest Mouse Brought Forth by Biggest Elephant: to Louis Budenz for his testimony, or lack of it, on the Lattimore case.

Conspicuous Bravery: to Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, for firing William Remington, on the ground that the latest "said-red" smear of him (unproved) interfered with departmental efficiency.

Greatest Editorial Credulity and Contempt for Readers' Intelligence (double award, gold nipple on gold brick): to the *Saturday Evening Post*, for buying the memoirs of the confessed liar Whittaker Chambers—after their rejection by Henry Luce, Chambers's former boss.

Year's Happiest Choice: to the U. S. Senate, for appointing Senator Hoey to investigate 3,500 alleged "sex perverts" among Washington job-holders.

Greatest Victory over Greatest General: to the Catholic church, for bidding Douglas MacArthur to ban circulation of an official publication discussing birth control as one solution for Japan's over-population problem.

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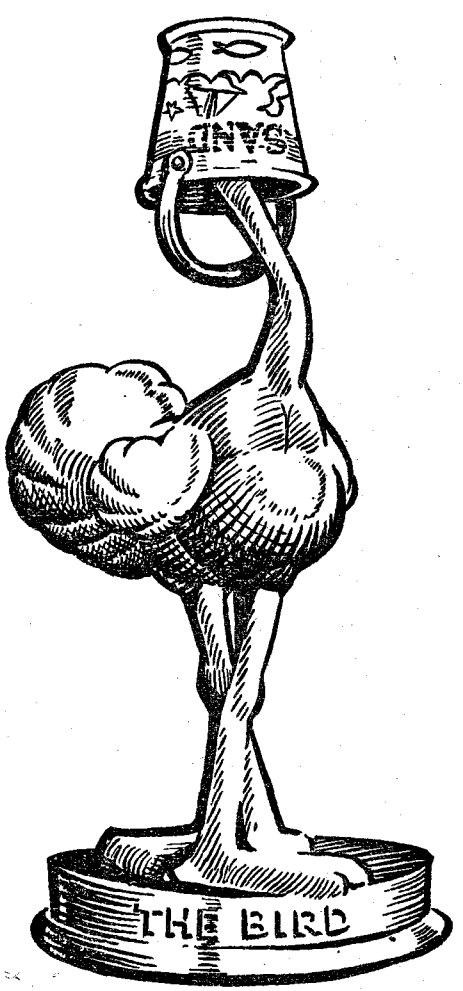
THE OBSERVER



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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Point Four—and Politics

BOLD NEW PROGRAM. By Willard R. Espy. Harper and Brothers. $3.

BOLD NEW PROGRAM SERIES. By Dewey Anderson, Stephen Raushenbush, Harold R. Isaacs, Morris Llewellyn Cooke, James Rorty, Wallace J. Campbell, Richard Y. Giles, Seymour E. Harris, and Morris S. Rosenthal. Public Affairs Institute. Eight pamphlets, 40 and 50 cents each. Set, $2.50.

WHEN the Senate finally passed the foreign-aid bill with thirty-odd million dollars for President Truman's "bold new program," news commentators noted that it was neither very bold nor very new. Seventeen months after the original proposal Congress had got only so far as to authorize a small expenditure, and no money had actually been appropriated. Senator Taft had led a strong opposition to even this small beginning.

Point Four cannot be discussed realistically except against this political background. And while the book and pamphlets under review were written some time before the Congressional debate, it is fair to ask how much they contribute to the arguments which will actually decide whether the proposal is to be carried out or abandoned.

In useful political ammunition they do not contribute as much as they might. Both Espy's book and the pamphlets are loaded down with facts to an extent which makes them tough reading even for a devoted student. As concentrated source material, however, they are fairly impressive.

Espy, who is director of special promotion for the *Reader's Digest*, can be credited with greater apparent political realism than the other authors, since he advocates government financing only of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, and would depend upon private capital investment for industrial development. Even so, it is worth noting that Senator Taft and Senator Millikin attacked the foreign-aid bill precisely on the point that it might lead to government guaranties of private foreign investment.

Most of Espy's book consists of an encyclopedic summary of the limitations and possibilities of the world's poorer areas, taken up one by one in a somewhat paralyzing procession. It has the concentration of information to be found in a dictionary and is not much easier to read, despite a facile and competent journalistic style.

On the other hand, the very fact that an executive of the *Reader's Digest* has given enthusiastic approval to Point Four, and backed it up with solid documentation, may be considerably more effective than the testimony of a group of experts who have been rather closely identified with the New Deal.

The "Bold New Program Series" suffers from the same burden of facts which mars Espy's book, and it covers much the same ground. Again, the detail is almost overwhelming. Once it has been stated that the world's standard of living could be improved by general introduction of better farming methods, improved seeds and cattle breeding, and adequate storage facilities, it does not seem necessary to show in detail that this is true in China, India, Iran, Egypt, and a dozen other countries, exactly as it is true in most of Latin America. However, Stephen Raushenbush, who is the author of Pamphlet No. 5 as well as co-author (with Dewey Anderson) of the general introduction, has performed a useful service in assembling proof that modern skills—if applied in time—can rather easily save the world from the plight described in William Vogt's "The Road to Survival." With his colleagues, and in agreement with Espy, he also shows that some fairly rapid improvement in the world's standard of living can be attained solely through the use of better techniques, without heavy capital investment.

The other writers in the series have all done creditable jobs, covering such diverse aspects of the program as the problem of overcoming suspicions generated by past imperialism, and the potential effects on the economy of the United States; and the eight pamphlets are fairly well coordinated. Taken together, they make a long and solid book.

Of all these writers, however, only Seymour Harris takes a genuinely bold approach—and it is just possible that in the long run his arguments might prove more successful politically than any of the rest. As an economist with a good analytical mind he recognizes that neither private nor public lending on a conventional pattern can do much to help the world's backward areas. Even at low interest rates, debt service and amortization on the $260,000,000,000 proposed by other authors in the series as investment over fifty years from sources outside the underdeveloped areas themselves would create a debt impossible to repay. Harris therefore suggests—although he does not specifically propose—loans without amortization. And he properly calls attention to the fact that under present conditions lending, or even giving, five billion dollars a year to foreign countries might be worth more than that as a guaranty of prosperity in the United States.

On the other hand, it is a little discouraging to be told by Anderson and Raushenbush that the investment of $260,000,000,000 over fifty years, plus technical assistance, plus an approximately equal investment of native capital in the underdeveloped areas, would lead to an improvement of only 2 per cent a year in their standard of living—if population growth did not absorb that.

Two per cent a year is about the annual increase in productivity in the United States over the last hundred years, and the ultimate results could be equally sensational. But is it enough to secure sufficient political stability for peace?

The great weakness of the bold new program, so far, is that it promises neither enough immediate benefit nor ultimate security to capture the imagination of the people of the rest of the world—or of the United States. If it does not do more, the Tafts and the

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Millikins will surely—and perhaps rightly—cut it down to less. All these authors, including Espy, see that it would be better not to start the program at all unless we go through with it, and so it would be folly to embark on it without reasonable assurance that it can succeed.

The comparative ineffectiveness in the presentation of the program so far, from President Truman's on down, is partly due to an unfortunate disposition to be a bit coy about the relationship between Point Four and the cold war. Harold Isaacs says flatly that "the way to go about it is to get together with a lot of other people and go to work with them as if there were no cold war at all."

That makes no real sense, politically or otherwise. What Russia offers the world is some immediate redistribution of wealth and land, followed by development of industry—if industry is allowed to develop in satellite countries outside the U. S. S. R.—at the price of a brutally enforced saving and consequent low standard of living for many years. At that price, in their own country, the Russians have achieved a phenomenal industrial growth—and the price may not seem too high for people whose standard of living is already about as low as it can be.

What the United States and Western Europe have to offer is an ideal of democracy and freedom, plus an exportable surplus of capital goods which Russia does not have. The ideal is good enough to win the cold war *if* the rest of the world can be convinced that we will stick to it, and *if* the people of the world can be convinced that they will ultimately receive more capital assistance from us by remaining at peace than they could if they succeeded in conquering us in war.

We might as well face the fact that expropriating American factories, or exploiting them for their own use, must seem very tempting to the Russians and about four-fifths of the rest of the people in the world. Unless we can show them that war would be equivalent to killing the goose that lays golden eggs, they may be persuaded to try.

The United States occupies a unique position in world history. During the nineteenth century we benefited from England's export of capital and capital goods. We were able to repay the loans, or most of them, partly in raw materials and to a considerable extent through the export of munitions and other goods in World Wars I and II. But we do not have any such need for imports as would enable the rest of the world to repay us for an export of capital comparable to that furnished by England between 1814 and 1914. At the same time, and partly as a result of the two world wars, we are in a position to produce capital goods in excess of our own urgent needs. Moreover, a serious drop in our capital-goods production would start a chain reaction which would cut our national income far more than the five billion dollars a year we could continue to export without any serious inconvenience to ourselves.

Until we start thinking about Point Four in such terms, we are not apt to get far with it. "Bold New Program" and "The Bold New Program Series," with all their excellent assemblage of facts and figures, have a pedestrian approach which is not likely to exercise a decisive influence at home or abroad.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Minnie Marx's Triumph

THE MARX BROTHERS. By Kyle Crichton. Doubleday and Company. $3.

TWO WEEKS after he first plucked the strings of a harp—it was over the wrong shoulder and he was to go on playing its backward for years—Harpo Marx had the instrument on stage and with the insouciance of a five-year-old performed for the citizens of southern Illinois. There were other vaudevillians in those days with no more training than Harpo and no less audacity, but all of them, it seems, were his brothers. With wit, sprightliness, and zeal Kyle Crichton has recorded the adventures of the Mad Marxes—a family which, as Groucho, the scholar and punster of the clan, probably said some time or another, was *sui generis* to a fault.

The whole life story of the Marxes is a characteristic reversal of the usual theatrical biography. Here was no case of stage-struck offspring abandoning the stolid homestead for the hard life of the boards, led on through tireless self-training by dreams of thunderous applause and their names in lights. On the contrary, it was their mother, the warm, gay, infectious Minnie, who with unflagging determination drove them on the stage against their judgment and kept them there despite their innumerable and ingenious attempts to escape. It was she who managed their affairs with a great show of executive zest, cajolery, and infinite resource. And it was the sartorially elegant Papa, the most indifferent tailor ever to thread a needle, who wooed managers, booking agents, and producers with sauerbraten, kugel, poker games, and rivers of coffee. The whole family went through seemingly endless vicissitudes, with perhaps more gaiety in retrospect than reality, but nevertheless with a boundless capacity for having fun—even Groucho, who wanted to be a doctor and whose sardonic quips, in failure and success alike, earned him his sobriquet.

On stage, as well as at home, the Marxes lived in a world of their own. They were "strange as mooncalves," one critic reported, "incredible as unicorns." Cheated out of Christmas turkey in a Texas boarding-house, which served them baked mackerel instead, they thought nothing of taking their esoteric revenge before the footlights. Crichton reports the bewildered reaction of an old-timer who witnessed the performance:

> "Damnedest show anybody ever saw in Texas or anywhere else. . . . They sang four songs and they were all about fish. 'Who's that lady I seen you with last night?' 'That wasn't no lady; that was a carp.' Then the idiot boy [Harpo] would start running around, yellin', 'Cheese it, the carp!' and that's the way it went all through the thing."

Chico once held up a show interminably to chase a beetle with a fire-ax, and at Nagadoches, Louisiana, Groucho could not help interpolating his first attempt at verse: "Nagadoches is full of roaches." It was for horseplay of this sort that theater managers fined the starving company repeatedly until Mama took to bringing the boys up sharp by sitting in a box and periodically yelling "Nussheim," that being the name of the villain who held a mortgage on the family homestead.

Inevitably, it seems, books on stage people tend toward the sentimental.

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Crichton succumbs to the tradition only rarely and never painfully. He is just as appalled as the reader at what passed for dialogue in some of the early offerings of the Marxes, and it is a relief to know that they paid so little attention to their lines. If there is no attempt at analysis in this book, either of the people or of the wellsprings of their humor, neither is there anything pretentious. Mr. Crichton has been satisfied to record, with skill and a light touch, the trials and satisfactions of as winningly daft a family as ever got on paper. The anecdotes are a joy, but the pathos as well as the humor is there for the seeking. ROBERT BENDINER

Alexander Pushkin

PUSHKIN: A BIOGRAPHY. By Henri Troyat. Translated by Randolph T. Weaver. Pantheon Books. $5.

THE life of Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837) was exotic and turbulent enough to satisfy the needs of any carpenter of costume films. He was descended from the son of an Abyssinian prince and from lesser Russian nobility. His immediate family moved in an orbit of society slightly below that of the glittering, superficial aristocratic balls, but later Pushkin's fame and his marriage to the most beautiful woman in the country gave him entrée even into the palace of Nicholas I. From the age of twenty his entire life was spent in exile or under varying degrees of imperial surveillance, aided by police and church spies, personal and political enemies. His behavior, his dress, his actions often shocked people of high and low degree; worse still, his poems shocked and alarmed the shallow, sycophantic nobles—as they delighted the intelligent, sensitive ones. He fought innumerable duels, both with weapons and with scathing wit. He was a friend of the nobles who fomented the disastrous Decembrist revolt, went to Tiflis for the war against the Turks, was attached ridiculously to the court of Nicholas I—so that his wife could attend the balls—became consequently the center of a vicious scandal, and died after a duel to defend his foolish wife's honor.

His devotion to poetry, along with his addiction to multiple love affairs with fashionable ladies, to bawdy houses, gambling, dueling, military exploits, travel, ennui, and the ideal of liberty, began before he was twenty and continued until his death. Most of these interests were co-existent in him, some warring against the autocracy of the government, the stifling of his poetic expression, and the corruption and intrigues of society. The fact that this man who was and is still Russia's greatest poet had to contend with such sterile social patterns and be subjected to such censorship and humiliation is almost sufficient commentary on the society which bred him, enveloped him, and finally through the three influences which he outwardly fought—autocracy, censorship, and corruption—was able to destroy him and say, "Good riddance." That society—empty, selfish, immoral, undirected, nevertheless brilliant in spectacle, conversation, and cosmopolitanism, and dangerously analytical in its few intellectuals—that society and its typical product, himself, Pushkin described in his verse-novel "Eugene Onegin."

M. Troyat in his biography describes Pushkin's life and social environment. He painstakingly reconstructs the period and the glamorous, squalid, or middle-class backgrounds, and keeps the action moving clearly, though often slowly, through the detailed documentation. But since this translation omits all but a few shreds of the critical discussions which were part of the two-volume French edition, the question arises of how useful are the minutiae of a man's life unless they are so interpreted as to reveal the importance of his work. In this instance, which for 500 pages emphasizes Pushkin's loves and adventures, with interspersed verses and casual mention of projects or the contents of a book, the effect is to make Pushkin a prototype of the romantic hero who is, incidentally, a writer. Judicious editing of the original work would have included all the critical discussions and discarded much of the repetitious evidence from journals, letters, and documents.

For the truth is that though M. Troyat admits Pushkin's baffling character, he contributes little to an interpretation of the lengthy contemporary testimony. He has made a studious compilation of source material, has where necessary correlated it to establish the facts, and has spliced it with summaries and bridging narration. But any understanding of Pushkin's baffling nature must be extracted from this mosaic by the reader, who will encounter all sorts of dangerous invitations—Freudian, pragmatic, materialistic, behavioristic. Some approach to an integration of the varied facets of Pushkin's personality should have been devised.

Pushkin's parents, frivolous and greedy, gave him a passionate heritage but no affection, in fact hardly even any association; he never loved them, and created proxy parents of his friends. In ballrooms he followed the fashion of flirting and pursued love conscientiously (he once listed thirty-seven loves, some platonic, some conquests); yet gratification usually came from actresses, ballerinas, working-girls, and prostitutes. On the point of marriage he was filled with apprehension and melancholy; "I am doing what everyone else does," he wrote. And six years later: "I did not know what to do; so I got married." And though his unresponsive wife could give him no more than he found

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in brothels, he was happy with her. Vital and sensuous, he was nevertheless exhilarated at the prospect of self-destruction through wars, prison, duels (he once ate cherries while being fired upon), and even marriage, which he sensed was inimical to his peace and poetry. Though he was consumed with an urge to fight injustice, he was not invited to join his friends' secret societies. Both rebel and conformer, he perceived the fatuity of the social structure and out of it, in spite of it, created a great literature.

M. Troyat's indication of these anomalies only stresses his failure to give a satisfactory interpretation of them and of their relevance to Pushkin's writings. Naturally a scholar wishes to avoid blunders; but having accepted a challenge, he should meet his responsibility to illuminate it at least by more than a recital. Hardly fifty pages here are devoted to the discussion of literature—more, however, if one includes the long battles against censorship—and fewer still to any attempt to penetrate the surface of the life.

Perhaps M. Troyat is placed in a somewhat unfavorable light by the American policy of abridging his study, though he was aware of it and accepted it. The excessive length of biographical details might not seem out of proportion if coupled with full analyses of Pushkin's work. On the other hand, perhaps I am wrong in feeling that a biography should deal adequately with those artistic, political, scientific, religious, or other accomplishments which make a man worthy of a biography.

HUBERT CREEKMORE

Democracy at War

BRITISH WAR ECONOMY. By W. K. Hancock and M. M. Gowing. History of the Second World War: United Kingdom Civil Series. Edited by W. K. Hancock. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office. 21*s.**

IN 1942 the British War Cabinet decided to make provision for a full record of war-time economic, social, and administrative experience by recruiting a team of professional historians and economists and giving them access to all relevant material. This volume, the first fruit of that decision, contains a general review of Britain's war economy. It is to be followed by books on war production and war-time social policy and by a statistical digest. In addition there are to be specialized studies of food, shipping, man-power, raw materials, and other subjects.

If the whole series comes up to the standard set by Professor Hancock and Mr. Gowing, it will make a distinguished and indispensable shelf in any library of economic literature. For this is a book which contrives to be both scholarly and authoritative without falling into academic dulness. Moreover, their official sponsorship has not prevented the authors from writing with a considerable degree of candor. They have borne in mind that the purpose of these histories, as Professor Hancock says in his preface to the whole series, is not the telling of a "success story"; it is rather "to fund experience for government use," a purpose which demands an objective, critical approach.

The economics of war is a relatively modern study. When the first world conflict broke out in 1914, the belligerent governments had elaborate plans for the mobilization and transport of their armies but had made few if any preparations for mobilizing the resources needed to sustain those armies. In Britain, government and industry agreed on the slogan "Business as usual." It was assumed that the forces of supply and demand would operate more or less normally, that the government's superior buying power would enable it to attract the goods it needed, and that the profit motive would automatically insure the requisite changes in, and increases of, production.

Part I of this book, labeled Perspective, shows how the development of scarcities that impeded the war effort and initiated a strong inflationary trend compelled the British government between 1914 and 1918 to improvise an elaborate structure of economic controls. As a result of this experience the Committee of Imperial Defense greatly extended the range of its planning in the period between the wars, setting up numerous subcommittees to study a wide variety of war-time economic problems.

But although Britain entered the war

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against Hitler with a fund of "know-how" it had not possessed in 1914, it was not nearly so well prepared as it might have been. Military and economic planners had been handicapped by the Chamberlain government's belief that the financial and economic risks of a large-scale rearmament program were more to be dreaded than the military risks that might be incurred by lack of adequate preparation. Until after Munich, moreover, the government clung wishfully to the theory that if war came, it could be fought on a limited-liability basis. Thus it was reluctant to make use of the means at its disposal for mobilizing idle resources represented by an average of over a million unemployed in the years 1935-39.

Even after the fighting started, as we see in Part II, which covers the months up to the fall of France, the country moved slowly toward acceptance of the idea of total war. There were long delays in installing the machinery of control and a tendency to measure economic effort in terms of finance rather than of physical resources. "Before May, 1940, the government thought of 'financial and economic plans,' and put the accent on the first word. The new government shifted the order of words and put 'economic' in front of 'financial.'"

Part III, which carries on the story to Pearl Harbor, and Part IV, which takes it up to D-Day, have much to say about Anglo-American economic collaboration and Lend-Lease. Part V, After Normandy, includes a brief discussion of reconstruction plans and an assessment of the real costs of the war.

Running through the book are a number of recurrent, interrelated themes—man-power, the shipping shortage, inflation control, the dollar problem—with pride of place rightly given to the first, for it was lack of man-power that finally limited the expansion of the armed forces and the munitions industries. However, this limitation was not acknowledged until the labor barrel had been scraped clean and civilian consumption trimmed to the bone. The system of national service that had been evolved by the end of 1941 "demanded for the state the services of men and women on a scale that Britain's totalitarian enemies never dared ask of their own people. Nevertheless, it was founded on a rock, for it had carried with it the consent of the nation."

In that passage, perhaps, we have the key to successful economic planning in either peace or war. A dictatorship cannot command willing and intelligent public cooperation; a democracy can.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Sex—a Philistine View

SEXUAL FREEDOM. By René Guyon. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.

RENE GUYON fulminates through many pages against stultifying moral taboos; yet his own "mechanistic theory" is indeed a most unappetizing blend of French traditional philistinism and a libertarianism that is but a defense of libertinage—a rather curious mixture of the philosophy of the reformer and that of the roué.

The author is a French jurist, now a justice of the Siamese Supreme Court and a resident of Bangkok; the present book is one in a series of ten, on sexual ethics. The dust jacket informs us that Dr. Harry Benjamin thinks that "it is not unreasonable to assume that in a future society Guyon will rank among the immortal emancipators of the human race." This reviewer must admit that he found Mr. Guyon an insufferable bore and his book both dull and mischievous. It was, indeed, a surprise to discover that a Frenchman could possibly write so tediously and crudely about sex.

Mr. Guyon sells sexual freedom as others sell vegetarianism or patent medicine. In his "mechanistic theory of legitimate sexual intercourse," he advocates ample and varied sex experience as a remedy for almost all the evils which afflict the modern world. "Among the advantages [of sexual enjoyment] are that it is easily obtained, without elaborate preparations; and that it is by no means costly. . . . The pleasures of sex are perfectly natural whereas the artificial enjoyments of alcoholic liquors, gambling, tobacco, and various other habit-forming drugs are more dangerous [and] much less agreeable. . . . The more intense the sexual life, the better satisfied are we with existence."

While he inveighs zealously against sexual taboos, censorship, and traditional morality and points to the inhibitions and frustrations that are the consequences of puritanical sex *mores*, Mr. Guyon fights indeed the battle of the twenties all over again—with no appreciable benefit to anyone. Doesn't he come a little late in an age when middle-class college girls discuss the quality of their sexual experiences?

Yet there is something more original to his theory. He is convinced that "the sexual object does not form a natural part of the appreciation or performance of the sexual act, every mechanical realization being a sufficient end in itself"; in short, he agrees with Dr. Kinsey that every "outlet" is intrinsically as valuable as any other. This approach allows Guyon to combine his advocacy of complete sexual freedom with a vicious anti-feminist attitude. "Women's sexual parasitism is innate. She has a congenital tendency to rely on man for support" and always attempts "to mint her sex into coin of the realm"; her "market value" is primarily determined by her sexual characteristics. "Woman is so clearly designed for sexual purposes that all her other activities are subordinate"; the modern feminist makes the great mistake of forgetting that "the main purpose of [women's] being is to satisfy man's desires."

Here then is "sexual freedom" with a vengeance! "How else can a man gain so thrilling an encyclopedic knowledge of women as by possessing many women of widely divergent races?" Is it that Bangkok influence?

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Mr. Guyon is innocent of even the most elementary knowledge of anthropology, sociology, or psychology. He quotes Freud rather extensively but has evidently completely failed to understand him and thinks that Freud proved that neurosis is a direct outcome of physical sexual privation. The book's thesis that "sexual acts are legitimate if they are performed under the aegis of science, reason, and logic" (whatever that may mean) affirms that the individual—more especially the male—is always right and that sex relations should be free from any ethical standards. Guyon compares sexual relations to the pleasures of gastronomy, and it thus seems obvious to him that they should be as free from ethical valuations as the pleasures of the table. But if we see, as we must, in sexual relations one of the most significant relationships between human beings, it is fairly obvious that they cannot be excluded from the realm of ethical judgment. The equation of the sexual with the "natural" also marred much of Dr. Kinsey's report, but he at least provided some significant data. Mr. Guyon is short on facts and long on opinion.

He also fails to understand that sex has always and in all known cultures been not merely a private but also a social fact. All human societies, though varying enormously in their sexual *mores* and standards, have yet regarded sex as too serious a business to be left entirely to the individual. We need serious research into the relations between sexual *mores* and the social structure. We need to know more about the functions and disfunctions of sexual prohibitions and sexual freedom, but Mr. Guyon is of little aid here. He is essentially a French philistine run wild—but while vegetarian apostles and other cranks rather seldom reach a wide audience, "Sexual Freedom" will probably have a steady sale.

LEWIS A. COSER

CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES E. NOYES is the author of "Economic Freedom."

HUBERT CREEKMORE is the author of a novel, "The Welcome."

LEWIS A. COSER teaches social science at the University of Chicago.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Thought

Dear Sirs: I'd call it the "Scold War" and I wish they wouldn't.

JOHN BUCHANAN

Berwick, Nova Scotia, June 11

Barcelona Revisited

Dear Sirs: One of my daughters has just been in Spain for a month, and today I received a letter from her from which I want to quote you a few paragraphs:

In Barcelona I hardly recognized the avenues we had walked down together. Now it's like a fairyland of richness. The beggars have gone, and those who saunter along are sleek men, beautiful women, little girls in flowing white dresses and lacy petticoats. The shop windows stay lighted nearly all night, with fine clothes, watches, jewelry, radios; and the cafes have displays of hams, hanging sausages, platters of shrimps, oysters, all kinds of salads, chickens roasting before one's eyes.

Now and then you see a little face peeking in, hungry for food, but such faces disappear at the sight of a waiter or a policeman. That part of the town looks richer than any city in France, and the people are stuffed, gorged, contented. At two o'clock everything shuts up for the night, and then the uniforms appear on the street corners, tommy-guns at their hips, and the beggars and whores start walking silently.

Here where I am the children sleep all day in the baking sun, for there is no school for them; and the men sit idle on the benches, for there is no work for them. It's a hot, poor, unhappy country, and it's hard to be gay here.

We picked up a man who served vaguely as guide, but he was like so many who just want to talk and talk. Over wine in a little bistro he talked to us and told us all over again what we already knew, interrupting his story every now and then if an unfamiliar face appeared. Here was the same thing happening again as it had happened everywhere else in Spain—people chatting, eating, laughing, seeming from the outside to be like the people in any other country, and yet the eyes of those who talked to you always watching. They speak a couple of words, then look to see if there is anyone near in the street; everywhere you go you feel a sort of gloom, sometimes vague, sometime stifling. This man did not complain. He grinned all the time he talked, but his favorite gesture to describe the general situation was to use his two hands, palms down, pressing them down as one does to keep a dog still.

MRS. JAMES F. LAWLOR

Paris, June 1

Nehru's Statesmanship?

Dear Sirs: I read Shiva Rao's article A War Avoided [The Nation, April 22] with some concern. Mr. Rao implies very clearly that those who are opposed to Nehru's policies regarding Pakistan are either "close associates of Gandhi's assassin" or Communists. But the facts of the case happen to be quite different. Opposition to the Nehru government on certain issues has been expressed by a large number of Congress leaders, including such men as Acharya Kriplani, former president of the All India National Congress and regarded as one of the most devoted followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Three ministers of the Nehru Cabinet who cannot be classed as Communists or "associates of Gandhi's assassin" have all recently had serious disagreements with Nehru and resigned from his Cabinet. One of these, former Finance Minister John Mathai, a Christian, resigned because of "Nehru's policy of appeasement toward Pakistan." Dr. Mathai charges that the vital interests of India have been bartered away by Nehru, while Pakistan, even after the signing of the recent Nehru-Liquat Ali Khan agreement, which was hailed as a great act of statesmanship, has failed to fulfil the trade provisions.

Today in India there exists very serious discontent with the Nehru government. In the coming general election Nehru's party may suffer the same fate as the Republican People's Party of Marshal Inonu of Turkey or Dr. Rhee's party in South Korea. It is my firm conviction that this will be all the more likely if the Nehru government barters away Kashmir or partitions it to appease the pan-Islamist state of Pakistan. There is every reason to believe that if Pakistan does not get Kashmir by the mouth of August, then the British-officered Pakistani force, with arms supplied by America—a part of which caused the disastrous explosion at South Amboy, New Jersey, a few weeks ago—will start another aggression in Kashmir or direct action against the Hindu minorities in East Bengal. If I read recent

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developments in India correctly, I am safe in saying that India in the future will be led not by Nehru but by those who oppose him and his party.

TARAKNATH DAS

New York, June 15

The Choice in Africa

Dear Sirs: The British government has deprived the Bamangwato tribe of its chieftain, Seretse Khama, because of his marriage to an English woman. This oppressive action was undertaken in deference to the reactionary policy of the Malan government in the Union of South Africa and the reactionary opinion in other parts of Africa.

The treatment of Ruth Khama calls for international protest and particularly protest by women. Her courage in the face of the injustices she has suffered is worthy of the admiration of all of us.

The colonial powers and the United Nations cannot evade the choice to stand either for justice or for the subjection of the African people. The situation is comparable to that which confronted America prior to the Civil War and that in Europe in the Nazi-Fascist years of 1934-39; there is the same moral conflict, the same possibility of an appeal to arms if better policies do not prevail. It were better to take a stand now for justice than to wait until the question has become further inflamed and the South African reactionaries have been strengthened by the acquistion of new territories.

Italy's reinstatement in Somaliland inevitably strengthens the reactionary side. Further concessions to the Union of South Africa will of course strengthen the defiance of Italy when the time comes for the termination of the ten years' trusteeship granted by the U. N. Assembly last December.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

Essex, England, June 2

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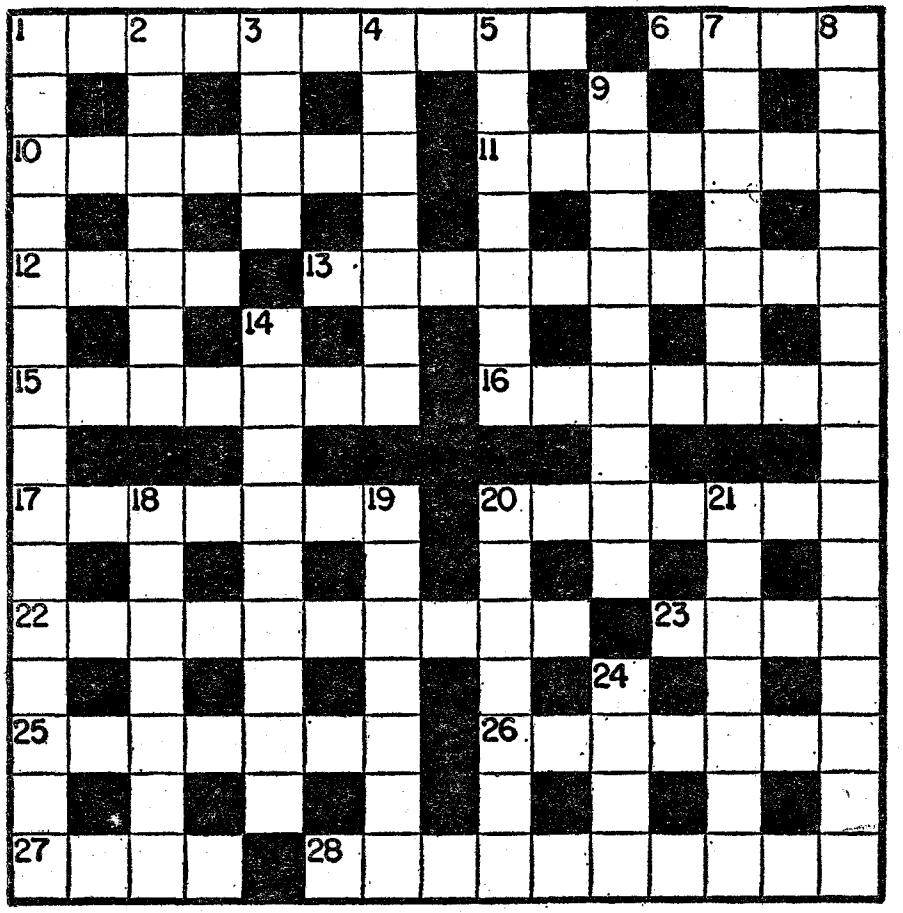
Crossword Puzzle No. 368

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Sail like Beau Ideal? (10)
6 Woman of note, brought up by 3. (4)
10 "Pale ..... keeps the heavy gate
And the Warder is Despair."
(*Ballad of Reading Gaol*). (7)
11 The ship brings back a room full of plate, perhaps. (7)
12 See 8.
13 The vigor we get from a high-scaled change? (10)
15 Elastic soap. (7)
16 Just the kind of sucker most of the little sheep seize on. (7)
17 Colorful, and a fitting state for orangemen, perhaps. (7)
20 A cuff on the wrist, given in punishment. (7)
22 The good kind make hot paving-stones! (10)
23 A design to worry over. (4)
25 White papers came from here. (7)
26 Very funny! (7)
27 The framework of the band. (4)
28 Female patter, in case of vanity. (6, 4)

DOWN

1 The Narcotics Squad? (7, 8)
2 From Medusa's blood - - - - for *Riders in the Sky?* (7)
3 Eager king decapitated. (4)
4 Was Hal ever in northern France? (2, 5)
5 One perhaps might show the way the mule ran. (7)
7 5 down, as a whole. (7)
8 and 12. Catch on fire? Lovely! (1, 6, 6, 2, 4)
9 Sap. (9)
14 Certainly not like Lot's wife. (9)
18 This seafarer has only one short month to work! (7)
19 I got at a musical style in a different way. (7)
20 Byron's servant Frederick? (7)
21 West Indian or French Canadian animal. (7)
24 The Rye's a river also. (4)

—❀—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 367

ACROSS:—1 LONGHORN STEERS; 9 GYPSIES; 10 LIAISON; 11 TRAILS; 12 CENSURED; 14 SHOW-OFF; 15 SAMBA; 17 GROSS; 19 YASHMAK; 21 CHANDLER; 23 SHELLS; 25 FRITTER; 26 LINEAGE; 27 ANIMAL CRACKERS.

DOWN:—1 and 16 LIGHTNING ARRESTERS; 2 NO PLAYS; 3 HEIRLOOMS; 4 and 18 RESTORATION; 5 SILVERSMITH; 6 EVANS; 7 ROSTRUM; 8 ENID; 13 POLYHEDRAL; 15 SYMPHONIC; 20 KILDARE; 21 CUFF; 22 DATUM; 24 SLUR.

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